



19 MAR 1985

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20515

JACK KEMP
THIRTY-FIRST DISTRICT
NEW YORK

Bill —————

I wanted you
to see this as I hope
to be of help on this
to you & the Pres.
Your friend, JK

FOR RELEASE: FRIDAY, MARCH 8, 1985

HONORABLE JACK KEMP
REMARKS PREPARED FOR DELIVERY BEFORE THE
WASHINGTON INSTITUTE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

PERHAPS NO AMERICAN PRESIDENT THOUGHT THROUGH THE MEANING OF DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION SO COMPLETELY AS ABRAHAM LINCOLN, WHO FACED THE WORST REBELLION THE UNITED STATES EVER SUFFERED. I'D LIKE TO REPEAT SOMETHING HE ONCE SAID ABOUT MEXICO WHEN HE WAS A MEMBER OF CONGRESS:

ANY PEOPLE ANYWHERE, BEING INCLINED AND HAVING THE POWER, HAVE THE RIGHT TO RISE UP, AND SHAKE OFF THE EXISTING GOVERNMENT, AND FORM A NEW ONE THAT SUITS THEM BETTER. THIS IS A MOST VALUABLE, -- A MOST SACRED RIGHT -- A RIGHT, WHICH WE HOPE AND BELIEVE, IS TO LIBERATE THE WORLD.

LINCOLN SAID THIS BECAUSE HE UNDERSTOOD THAT AMERICAN DEMOCRACY HAD BEEN FOUNDED ON A REVOLUTION AGAINST TYRANNY.

TODAY THAT SAME HUMAN RIGHT IS STRUGGLING TO LIBERATE LARGE PARTS OF THE WORLD -- IN ANGOLA, AFGHANISTAN, IN MOZAMBIQUE AND PARTS OF SOUTHEAST ASIA -- AND PARTICULARLY IN NICARAGUA. THE PEOPLE OF THESE NATIONS ARE FIGHTING AGAINST TOTALITARIAN RULERS FAR MORE DESPOTIC THAN ANYTHING JEFFERSON OR LINCOLN EVER IMAGINED.

WE AMERICANS MUST REACH A FUNDAMENTAL DECISION, A DECISION THAT WILL GUIDE OUR FOREIGN POLICY FOR THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE.

WHAT IS AMERICA'S PLACE IN THE DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION THAT IS SWEEPING THE WORLD? WOULDN'T IT BE IRONIC -- AS WELL AS TRAGIC -- IF THE NATION WHOSE OWN DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION LIGHTED THE SPARK OF GLOBAL LIBERTY TWO CENTURIES AGO NOW DECIDED THAT RIGHT BELONGED TO US ALONE?

BUT, FRANKLY, I DON'T BELIEVE THE PEOPLE OF AMERICA, THE SUCCESS OF WHOSE OWN REVOLUTION DEPENDED ON RECEIVING ASSISTANCE FROM OTHER NATIONS, WILL DESERT FREEDOM-FIGHTING PEOPLES ELSEWHERE, ESPECIALLY NOT OUR CENTRAL AMERICAN NEIGHBORS. I DO THINK THERE IS A PROBLEM WITH ELITE OPINION, WHICH IS FOCUSED IN CONGRESS ON THE LEFT SIDE OF THE AISLE.

IN 1983 I WAS PLEASED TO HAVE BEEN APPOINTED AN ADVISOR TO THE COMMISSION FIRST PROPOSED BY THE LATE SENATOR "SCOOP" JACKSON, THE BIPARTISAN COMMISSION ON CENTRAL AMERICA. THE POLITICALLY DIVERSE MEMBERS OF THE COMMISSION UNANIMOUSLY ENDORSED THE EXTENSIVE AND DETAILED RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE FINAL REPORT. IT FOUND THAT THERE WAS A REAL THREAT OF SOVIET-CUBAN AGGRESSION IN THE REGION WHICH WAS SEPARATE AND INDEPENDENT OF THE CAUSES FOR LOCAL DISCONTENT. THE COMMISSION FOUND THAT CUBA AND THE SANDINISTAS WERE ENGAGED IN EFFORTS TO UNDERMINE A DEMOCRATICALLY ELECTED GOVERNMENT OF EL SALVADOR AND OTHER GOVERNMENTS IN THE REGION.

THE COMMISSION RECOMMENDED GREATLY INCREASED AND MORE EFFECTIVE ECONOMIC AND SECURITY ASSISTANCE TO THOSE GOVERNMENTS. WITH RESPECT TO NICARAGUA, THE COMMISSION CONCLUDED THAT MERE STATIC CONTAINMENT WAS NOT ENOUGH. IT RECOMMENDED CONTINUING ALL SOURCES OF PRESSURE AGAINST THE SANDINISTA GOVERNMENT, TO HELP PROMOTE INTERNAL DEMOCRATIZATION AND REGIONAL SECURITY.

SOME OF THE JACKSON COMMISSION'S RECOMMENDATIONS HAVE BEEN IMPLEMENTED. OUR FOREIGN AID FOR THE REGION HAS BEEN SIGNIFICANTLY INCREASED, ALTHOUGH NOT QUITE TO THE LEVELS RECOMMENDED. HOWEVER, WE HAVE FAILED TO ACHIEVE A CONSENSUS IN CONGRESS OVER THE HEART OF THE PROBLEM IN CENTRAL AMERICA.

OVER THE PAST YEAR, THE "FREEDOM FIGHTERS" IN NICARAGUA HAVE BROADENED THEIR BASE OF POPULAR SUPPORT. LAST FRIDAY, THEY BEGAN A DRAMATIC "PEACE OFFENSIVE" BY ISSUING A MANIFESTO IN SAN JOSE, WHICH CALLS UPON THE SANDINISTAS TO PARTICIPATE IN A NATIONAL DIALOGUE TO END THE CRISIS IN NICARAGUA. THE "CONTRAS" ARE SEEKING A CONSTITUTIONAL, NOT NECESSARILY A MILITARY, SOLUTION.

STILL, A BLOC IN CONGRESS HAS CONTINUALLY RESISTED THE IDEA OF THE UNITED STATES PROVIDING SUPPORT FOR THE "CONTRAS" AGAINST THE MARXIST REGIME. IGNORING THE CENTRALITY OF THE MARXIST SANDINISTAS TO THE INSTABILITY OF CENTRAL AMERICA IS A LITTLE LIKE TRYING TO TREAT A CANCER WITH PLACEBOS.

THE PROBLEM LIES WITH NICARAGUA; SO DOES THE SOLUTION.

IN MID APRIL, WE'LL HAVE A VOTE ON RELEASING \$14 MILLION FOR THE CONTRAS IN NICARAGUA. WHILE THE PRESIDENT HAS BEEN ELOQUENT IN HIS DEFENSE OF THE FREEDOM FIGHTERS, MANY IN THE CONGRESS STILL BELIEVE THAT WHAT HAPPENS IN NICARAGUA IS NOT VITAL TO HEMISPHERIC PEACE AND STABILITY. AND PUBLIC OPINION HAS BECOME CONFUSED IN DEBATES ABOUT COVERT ACTION AND IS IN DANGER OF LOSING ITS BEARINGS ABOUT WHAT IS RIGHT AND ABOUT WHAT IS IN OUR NATIONAL INTEREST.

WHAT IS THE UNITED STATES TO DO ABOUT NICARAGUA?

WITHOUT A FUNDAMENTAL CHANGE IN THE GOVERNMENT OF NICARAGUA, THE STABILITY OF CENTRAL AMERICA -- AND INDEED ULTIMATELY OF OUR HEMISPHERE -- WILL BE SEVERELY CHALLENGED. WHAT WILL THE UNITED STATES DO ABOUT THIS THREAT TO DEMOCRACY AND THE SECURITY OF OUR HEMISPHERE? THAT IS THE HEART OF THE MATTER. DEBATES OVER COVERT VERSUS OVERT OPERATIONS ONLY DIVERT OUR ATTENTION AWAY FROM WHAT THE UNITED STATES, AS LEADER OF THE FREE WORLD, SHOULD DO.

THERE ARE TWO PATHS BEFORE US. EACH FINDS EXPRESSION IN LAW. AND THEY ARE MUTUALLY EXCLUSIVE.

A. POLICY IMPLICATIONS OF THE BOLAND AMENDMENT

THE FIRST IS THE BOLAND AMENDMENT, WHICH PROHIBITS THE UNITED STATES FROM SEEKING TO BRING DOWN A MARXIST REGIME. IT WAS ONE OF THOSE "NON-CONTROVERSIAL" AMENDMENTS CASUALLY PASSED BY VOICE VOTE. IN FACT, BECAUSE THIS WAS A HIGHLY SECRET PROGRAM, THE HOUSE MEMBERSHIP AT LARGE WAS BASICALLY IGNORANT OF THE EXTENT TO WHICH FREEDOM FIGHTERS IN NICARAGUA DEPENDED ON THE U.S. FOR HELP.

WHATEVER THE INTENT OF ITS SPONSORS, THE EFFECT OF THE AMENDMENT IS TO INHIBIT ACTS OF UNILATERAL OR COLLECTIVE SELF-DEFENSE. HAD A "BOLAND AMENDMENT" BEEN IN FORCE WITH RESPECT TO GRENADA, THERE WOULD BE A RADICAL CUBAN-ALLIED GOVERNMENT THERE TODAY. YET THIS IS STILL LAW WITH RESPECT TO NICARAGUA, FROM WHICH THE SANDINISTAS CAN TAKE COMFORT.

IF WE ARE TO FOLLOW THE POLICY PATH BEGUN BY THE BOLAND AMENDMENT AND WITHDRAW OUR SUPPORT FROM THE FREEDOM FIGHTERS,

THEN I WOULD LIKE TO KNOW WHAT WE ARE TO DO NEXT. WHAT WILL THE UNITED STATES DO AS THE SANDINSITAS CONSOLIDATE THEIR HOLD OVER THE NICARAGUAN PEOPLE? WHAT WILL THE LIBERALS WHO SAY THEY CARE ABOUT HUMAN RIGHTS DO ABOUT MEN LIKE ARTURO CRUZ, WHO HAS DEDICATED HIS LIFE TO ADVANCING THE CIVIL LIBERTIES OF HIS PEOPLE? OR PEDRO JUAQUIN CHAMORRO, WHO FLED NICARAGUA WHEN THE GOVERNMENT SHUT DOWN HIS PAPER LA PRENSA? WHAT WILL THEY DO ABOUT THE THOUSANDS OF MISKITO INDIANS WHO RAN FROM AERIAL BOMBINGS AND GUNFIRE TO ESCAPE TO HONDURAS? WHAT WILL THEY DO ABOUT THE LEADERS OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN NICARAGUA THREATENED WITH STATE CENSORSHIP? WHAT WILL THEY DO ABOUT THE TINY JEWISH MINORITY FACING RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION? AND WHAT WILL THEY DO ABOUT THE POLITICAL PRISONERS JAILED FOR DARING TO SPEAK THEIR MIND ABOUT SANDINISTA REPRESSION?

IF THEY MANAGE TO LOOK AWAY FROM THE BRUTALITIES OF A TOTALITARIAN REGIME WITHIN NICARAGUA, WHAT WILL THEY DO AS THE SANDINSITAS PUT THEIR BLOATED MILITARY TO WORK AGAINST NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES? WHAT WILL THEY DO AS THE SANDINISTAS STEP UP ARMS SUPPLIES AND LOGISTICS SUPPORT FOR SUBVERSIVES IN NEIGHBORING HONDURAS AND EL SALVADOR? WHAT WILL THEY DO ABOUT DEFENSELESS COSTA RICA? WHAT OF GUATEMALA? PANAMA? MEXICO? WHERE WILL IT STOP?

AS PRESIDENT REAGAN HAS POINTED OUT, "THE SANDINISTA GOVERNMENT...[IS] LINKING UP WITH THE TERRORISTS OF IRAN, LIBYA, THE RED BRIGADES, AND THE PLO. THE SANDINISTAS AREN'T DEMOCRATS BUT COMMUNISTS, NOT LOVERS OF FREEDOM BUT OF POWER, NOT BUILDERS OF A PEACEFUL NATION BUT CREATORS OF A FORTRESS NICARAGUA THAT INTENDS TO EXPORT COMMUNISM BEYOND ITS BORDERS."

I DO NOT BELIEVE THE BOLAND AMENDMENT SUPPORTERS UNDERSTAND THE OBJECTIVE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN "YANKEE IMPERIALISM" AND THE PRESERVATION OF FREEDOM. THE TIME TO STOP THE SPREAD OF MARXISM IN CENTRAL AMERICA IS NOW. THE LONGER WE WAIT, THE HEAVIER THE COST.

B. POLICY IMPLICATIONS OF THE KENNEDY LEGISLATION

TWENTY YEARS AGO, CONGRESS ENACTED LEGISLATION THAT IS VERY DIFFERENT FROM THE BOLAND AMENDMENT. IN 1962, IN THE WAKE OF THE CUBAN MISSILE CRISIS AND AS AN INHERENT PART OF THE RESOLUTION OF THAT CONFLICT, THE CONGRESS PASSED PUBLIC LAW 87-733, WHICH READS:

THE UNITED STATES IS DETERMINED TO PREVENT BY WHATEVER MEANS MAY BE NECESSARY... THE MARXIST LENINIST REGIME IN CUBA FROM EXTENDING...ITS AGGRESSIVE AND SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES TO ANY PART OF THIS HEMISPHERE...

THIS STATUTE WAS SIGNED INTO LAW BY PRESIDENT KENNEDY, AND REAFFIRMED JUST THREE YEARS AGO BY THE UNITED STATES SENATE. IT IS STILL ON THE BOOKS. IT IS STILL THE LAW OF THE LAND THAT THE UNITED STATES WILL ACTIVELY OPPOSE CUBAN-BACKED SUBVERSION IN THIS HEMISPHERE. THE BOLAND AMENDMENT FLATLY CONTRADICTS THIS LONG-STANDING LAW BY EXEMPTING NICARAGUA FROM ITS PROTECTION.

WHICH IS U.S. POLICY? ARE WE COMMITTED TO OPPOSING MARXIST REGIMES IN THIS HEMISPHERE, AS THE KENNEDY STATUTE SAYS, OR ARE WE COMMITTED TO NEUTRALITY AS BETWEEN AGGRESSION AND SELF-DETERMINATION, AS THE BOLAND AMENDMENT PRESCRIBES? ANSWERING THIS FUNDAMENTAL QUESTION IS FAR MORE IMPORTANT THAN ANY DEBATES

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OVER ALTERNATIVE APPROACHES TO STRUCTURING OUR ASSISTANCE PROGRAM.

THE LEGISLATION PROMOTED BY PRESIDENT KENNEDY WAS MEANT AS A WARNING TO THE SOVIETS THAT THE UNITED STATES WOULD TOLERATE NO MORE CUBAS IN THIS HEMISPHERE. NICARAGUA IS THE FIRST REAL TEST OF OUR RESOLVE. IF WE FAIL THAT TEST, I DO NOT DOUBT WE WILL INVITE SOVIET ADVENTURISM BOTH HERE AND IN PLACES FAR REMOVED FROM OUR SHORES.

I REJECT THE BOLAND AMENDMENT AND THE PREMISES THAT UNDERLIE IT. THE PRINCIPLE OF NON-INTERFERENCE IN THE DOMESTIC AFFAIRS OF OTHER STATES DOES NOT OVERRIDE OUR MORAL OBLIGATION TO SUPPORT THE BASIC HUMAN RIGHTS OF PEOPLE STRUGGLING AGAINST TOTALITARIAN REGIMES. IN NICARAGUA AND SIMILAR REGIMES, INTERNAL REPRESSION AND EXTERNAL AGGRESSION GO HAND IN HAND. THE LATTER CANNOT EFFECTIVELY BE ADDRESSED WITHOUT ADDRESSING THE FORMER. THE PRINCIPLE OF NON-INTERFERENCE DOES NOT OVERRIDE THE RESPONSIBILITY OF OUR GOVERNMENT TO PROVIDE FOR OUR SELF DEFENSE, OR TO MEET THE MUTUAL SECURITY COMMITMENTS WE HAVE WITH OUR ALLIES. IT IS NOT IN AMERICA'S INTEREST -- NOR IN THE INTEREST OF FREEDOM -- TO ENFORCE THE BREZHNEV DOCTRINE THROUGH THE MORAL AND POLITICAL WEIGHT OF OUR LAW.

IN SUPPORT OF SELF-DETERMINATION FOR NICARAGUA

I AM OPTIMISTIC THAT WE CAN WIN THE BATTLE IN CONGRESS TO CONTINUE OUR PRESENT ASSISTANCE PROGRAM, AS THE AMERICAN PEOPLE COME TO UNDERSTAND WHAT IS AT STAKE IN CENTRAL AMERICA. OUR SUPPORT FOR THE FREEDOM FIGHTERS REMAINS THE BEST HOPE FOR SELF-DETERMINATION FOR THE NICARAGUAN PEOPLE. AS CHARLES KRAUTHAMMER HAS POINTED OUT, ARTURO CRUZ IS NOW ASKING CONGRESS TO PROVIDE

AID TO THE CONTRAS PRECISELY BECAUSE THEY CONSTITUTE THE ONLY REMAINING OBSTACLE TO AN ENTRENCHED MARXIST-LENINIST DICTATORSHIP. THAT IS WHY THE BIPARTISAN JACKSON COMMISSION RECOMMENDED SUSTAINING ALL SOURCES OF PRESSURE AVAILABLE AGAINST THE SANDINISTA GOVERNMENT TO FORCE IT TO LIVE UP TO THE PROMISES IT MADE THE OAS -- INCLUDING FREE AND FAIR ELECTIONS.

SOME COMMENTATORS HAVE RAISED THE POSSIBILITY OF WITHDRAWING DIPLOMATIC RECOGNITION FROM THE SANDINISTA REGIME, AND VESTING IT IN A GOVERNMENT-IN-EXILE COMPOSED OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE VARIOUS ELEMENTS OF THE RESISTANCE FORCES.

THERE IS MUCH TO COMMEND SUCH AN APPROACH. AS FRIDAY'S MANIFESTO IN SAN JOSE DEMONSTRATES, THE DIFFERENT RESISTANCE ELEMENTS ARE FORGING GREATER UNITY AMONG THEMSELVES, IN PURSUIT OF POLITICAL LIBERTIES AND PEACE. A RESISTANCE GOVERNMENT IN EXILE WOULD BE FAR MORE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE NICARAGUAN PEOPLE THAN THE TOTALITARIAN GOVERNMENT THAT IS CURRENTLY JAILING DISSIDENTS, BREAKING UP FREE TRADE UNIONS, DISRUPTING RELIGIOUS PRACTICES, AND SHUTTING DOWN ANY SEMBLANCE OF A FREE PRESS.

ON THE OTHER HAND, WITHDRAWING RECOGNITION OF THE SANDINISTAS WOULD MEAN THAT THE CONTADORA EFFORT WAS AT AN END. NOW THAT MAY WELL BE THE CASE ANYWAY, IN LIGHT OF NICARAGUA'S INTRANSIGENCE. BUT SUCH A DIPLOMATIC GAUNTLET WOULD ALSO COMPLICATE THE WORK OF THE OAS SO LONG AS THE SANDINISTAS RETAINED THEIR STANDING WITH THAT BODY.

YET I WOULD BE WILLING TO RECOMMEND SUCH AN UNPRECEDENTED COURSE OF ACTION WERE I TO BECOME CONVINCED THAT THAT WAS THE ONLY WAY WE COULD SECURE THE NECESSARY DOMESTIC SUPPORT FOR OUR ASSISTANCE PROGRAM FOR THE FREEDOM FIGHTERS.

THE SANDINISTA GOVERNMENT CAME TO POWER UNDER FALSE PRETENSES. IT WOULD BE FITTING IF IT SHOULD NOW FORFEIT ITS DIPLOMATIC STANDING BY REASON OF THE BETRAYAL OF ITS PROMISES TO THE OAS AND THE PEOPLE OF NICARAGUA. AT A MINIMUM, WITHDRAWAL OF U.S. RECOGNITION WOULD SET THE HEALTHY PRECEDENT THAT THIS COUNTRY REJECTS THE LEGITIMACY OF ANY TOTALITARIAN REGIME IN THIS HEMISPHERE.

INDEED, I LOOK FORWARD TO THE DAY WHEN MEN LIKE ARTURO CRUZ ARE ONCE AGAIN SENIOR MEMBERS OF THE GOVERNMENT IN NICARAGUA -- A GOVERNMENT FREELY AND FAIRLY ELECTED BY THE PEOPLE OF NICARAGUA.

AMERICA'S ROLE IN THE DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION

WE MUST DECIDE WHERE OUR PLACE WILL BE IN THE DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION THAT IS WELLING UP AMONG SO MANY PEOPLES OF THE WORLD. THE PHILOSOPHER, JOHN STUART MILL, BELIEVED THAT THE DESIRE FOR LIBERTY WAS AN IRREPRESIBLE HUMAN DRIVE. WE SEE THIS TODAY, IN AFGHANISTAN, IN NICARAGUA, AND IN OTHER PLACES AS WELL, WHERE PEOPLE ARE FIGHTING COMMUNIST TYRANTS FOR THEIR OWN FREEDOM AND IN THE INTEREST OF FREE PEOPLE EVERYWHERE. THEY ARE FIGHTING OUR BATTLES.

THEY NEED EFFECTIVE HELP. WHAT IS EFFECTIVE VARIES WITH CIRCUMSTANCES. IN AFGHANISTAN, GIVEN THE CLIMATE, THE TERRAIN AND THE SOVIET STRATEGY OF DE-POPULATING THE COUNTRY BY USING HELICOPTERS TO DESTROY THE PEOPLE'S ABILITY TO MAKE A LIVING, THE PEOPLE NEED FOOD, WARM CLOTHING, AND SHOULDER-FIRED ANTI-AIRCRAFT MISSILES. FOR EVERY MISSILE WE SEND, WE COULD PERHAPS SAVE A VILLAGE OF INNOCENT PEOPLE. IN NICARAGUA, THE CONTRAS NEED

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HEAVIER MORTARS AND THE BASIC STAPLES OF CONFLICT. BUT ABOVE ALL, THE CAUSE OF FREEDOM BESET BY A WORLDWIDE, SOVIET-LED COALITION REQUIRES A FORTHRIGHT CHAMPION.

FREEDOM FIGHTERS, WHETHER IN NICARAGUA OR ELSEWHERE, WERE NOT CREATED BY THE UNITED STATES. THEY WERE CREATED BY "A LONG TRAIN OF ABUSES AND USURPATIONS EVINC[ING] A DESIGN TO REDUCE THEM UNDER ABSOLUTE DESPOTISM", AS WE SAID IN DECLARING OUR INDEPENDENCE FROM ENGLAND TWO CENTURIES AGO. FREEDOM AND HUMAN RIGHTS DEFEATED OPPRESSION THEN, AND LIGHTED PEOPLE'S HOPES FOR FREEDOM EVERYWHERE.

IN THE LONG RUN NO PASSION IS MORE ENDURING THAN THE DESIRE TO BE FREE. THE FINAL QUESTION AMERICANS MUST ANSWER IS WHETHER WE WILL GIVE OTHERS THE ASSISTANCE THEY NEED TO ESTABLISH THEIR DEMOCRACY, JUST AS OTHERS TWO CENTURIES AGO WERE GENEROUS AND COMPASSIONATE ENOUGH TO HELP US ESTABLISH OURS. AND I BELIEVE AMERICANS WILL SAY, "THAT IS RIGHT -- WE MUST HELP."